*563 264 or leader families) use chopsticks at festivals. Everyone has his own bowl and carries it with him, even when invited to another home for dinner.

*563 574 577 262 184 556 Ordinary people do not often have guests for dinner, and a feast can be afforded only by the family of a T'u-kung. The formal dinner, which resembles that of the Chinese, is long and ample. When the guests arrive they are served milk-tea, then given chopsticks and a knife. The courses include rice, sweet cake (made of rice flour and dried fruit) sprinkled with sugar and butter, patties made of chopped mutton and intestine. There are small plates of green onions, vinegar and soy sauce for seasoning. The last course is beef soup or mutton with chopped potatoes, rice noodles and vegetables. Sour milk may be substituted for the soup in hot weather.

[252] Among the poor, the main meat dish for entertaining is a sheep's head boiled in salted water.

*563 291 c. Clothing

[556] Tibetans wear the same sheepskin robe the year around. A man's robe ends just above his knees; a woman's reaches the ankles. Wealthy people may have silk or cotton robes lined with sheepskin. The less wealthy may decorate their robes with red or blue cotton trim or leopard-skin collars. The poor dispense with decoration. The robe is often worn with the left arm and shoulder exposed and the sleeve dangling, and in hot weather, the wearer may strip to the waist leaving both sleeves dangling. Women often strip in this manner while they work, and only in cold weather do they keep both arms in their sleeves. As they habitually wipe their hands on their robes, they are as a rule thoroughly dirty.

[556] No one wears stockings. The wealthy have long leather boots trimmed with black, red or green. Most common people go barefooted in summer, and wear sheepskin or felt boots in winter. All wear felt hats or caps in winter.

[793] The dress of the lama differs from that of a commoner. The robe is crimson, reaches to the ankles and has no sleeves. Not even in the coldest weather is the monk permitted to wear sleeves.

*563 • 302 [184] Most of the men simply shave their heads, but a few leave a round spot of hair on top. Women's hair styles are elaborate. The farther one goes into the nomadic area, the simpler the way of life he finds, and so also the feminine hair styles. Women in Labrang select a small amount of hair on the top of the head to make a braid which hangs down the back. The rest of the hair is made into a number of tiny braids which hang all around. A soft red board reaching to the ankles is attached to the hair, and the whole is heavily ornamented. This is the Tibetan woman's hairdress which is commonly seen.

*563 574 576 right side. The honored seat is the one farthest from the door. After the guests are seated the hostess will brew tea, place a wooden box in front of the guests, and serve tsamba and butter. The guests take their eating bowls out of their robes.

[521] At dinner parties, conversation takes place before the meal. It is proper and right for the guests to say farewell and leave immediately after dinner.

c. Position of women

*563 562 796 The position of women in Tibetan society is very low. They have no place in matters of religion, and are permitted to participate in few religious ritual. They are permitted to enter the monastery on the Memorial Day of Sakyamuni, which occurs on the fifteenth day of the fourth month. At sunrise, all women put on their best clothing with all their trimmings and ornaments, and gather outside the monastery. The women of each village form into a group, and the groups take turns going inside the temple and turning the prayer wheel. Men and boys stand by to witness the spectacle. On this day, women fast until sundown.

d. Customs

*563 527 88 [302] [292] [574] [431] On the third day of the first month each year, a coming-of-age festival is held for all girls of fifteen or sixteen. Girls do their hair in the adult style, dress in their best, and visit the households of relatives and friends, who present them with gifts. After a ceremony, the girls may participate in all mixed social functions, and they may also have any sort of relationship with men. After the coming-of-age ceremony, a girl may ask any man she likes to spend the night in her tent.

*563 584 [787] [675] Tibetan marriage follows much the same customs as in traditional China. Proposals are made through go-betweens, who are usually relatives of the families. It is important that the horoscopes of bride and bridegroom be in harmony. When the parents and the young couple give consent, gifts of wine and katags are exchanged and a contract is drawn up giving the terms on which the alliance is to be made.

*563 583 584 The family receiving a bride or a "male bride" (The male bride is a man who marries into the bride's family, leaving his own home and joining hers.) pays the family for the bride in money or jewels, and also pays a sum to meet the expenses of the engagement party. Katags are exchanged between the relatives of the two families to signify mutual consent and wishes for a happy union. The bride usually has a dowry in cash or in livestock, land and goods, depending upon the means of the family.

*563 585 Before the wedding day, the families of the bride and bridegroom prepare a feast to entertain relatives and friends, who bring gifts for the couple. The bride's family builds a tent for the ceremony, decorating it with pillows and comfortable seats

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13

779 785 c. Fasting (Saum). Fasting, according to Islam, is primarily a spiritual discipline. Satisfying one's thirst and hunger are considered great temptations, and a chance is given to man to overcome his temptation.

[796] Moslems are required to fast for twenty-nine or thirty days of the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year. Fasting begins at the appearance of the moon of Ramadan and ends on the appearance of the new moon of Shawwal (the tenth month). Fasting is to be observed with complete abstinence from food and drink during the hours of daylight. The fast is broken after sunset and during the hours of the night. The last meal should be taken before sunrise. The Koran and the Hadith make special mention of people who are exempted from fasting. The Koran mentions those who are sick and those on a journey. This is not an absolute exemption, as the sick man and the traveler are required to fast later, when the sickness has gone or the journey has ended. Hadith also gives extension or exemption to certain classes of people who, because of some physical disability or the performance of heavy labor, are not able to fast. In addition, fasting is included among the expiations for various offenses.

779 788 d. Pilgrimage (Hajj). As an institution the hajj existed from a very remote antiquity, before the advent of Islam. The sacredness of Mecca was established in the Koran by Muhammad and given strong connection with the names of Abraham and Ishmael.

[175] In the first and second years of the Hejira (Muhammad's exodus from Mecca to Medina, 622-23 A.D.) full directions relating to the hajj were given by the Prophet. The traditional days in Dhu'l Hijja (the twelfth month) and the traditional ceremonies: going in circuit round the Kaaba; running between the two small eminences of Safa and Marwa in the vicinity; assembling on the ninth day of the month at the hill of Ararat; offering sacrifices of sheep and camels at Mina on the way back to Mecca—all were retained and prescribed in the Koran. Other traditional usages, including the kissing of the Black Stone set in the walls of the Kaaba, and the stoning of the pillars representing the Devil in the vicinty of Mina, though not mentioned explicitly, were observed by Muhammad in his pilgrimages and so were incorporated into the Moslem rite.

[783] As before prayer the worshipper must be ritually clean, so also before making the pilgrimage the worshipper must be in a state of ritual consecration (ihram). This involves shaving the [302] head and discarding ordinary clothing before entering the terri- [292] tory of Mecca, putting on instead two plain sheets and leaving the face and the head uncovered.

Although the pilgrimage constitutes a religious obligation for every Moslem, the obligation is explicitly limited by possession

2: Teichman G-5 (1919) 1921 AF13 Northwest China AF13

which is separated from the lamasery by a stream, and as the lamas did not appear particularly friendly, and we were only passing through, we left them alone. This was really the only place on all our long journeys where we were not well received. Heitso is called 120 li from T'ao Chou. To the south are forest-clad hills and to the north and north-west are high rocky mountains patched with snow. My amateur map led me to take these to be the divide between the sources of the T'ao and Tahsia rivers and the upper Yellow River, and therefore probably the true boundary between Kansu and Kokonor territory in this direction. The boundaries of Western Kansu are extremely vague, owing to the practice of the native chiefs exercising jurisdiction over tribes and families of nomads rather than fixed areas.

The Amdo Tibetans we met round Heitso and on our road from T'ao Chou to Labrang, whether nomads or agriculturists, were just like the tribesmen who come into Tachienlu in Szechuan from the uplands of Kham, except that the latter have been partly disarmed while the Kansu Tibetans all carry swords thrust crosswise through their belts and often the long Tibetan gun with prong attachment in addition. Their dress is of the simplest description, consisting usually of a sheepskin robe worn winter and summer with the wool inside, often no trousers, and long leather boots. The hilts and sheathes of their swords and knives are often handsomely inlaid with silver and decorated with turquoise and coral, and probably come from Kham. The head dress of the women is peculiar, the hair being braided into a number of small plaits, which hang down below the waist and are bound together at their extremities by a piece of cloth ornamented with silver and stones. On the grass-lands they live by cattle-raising and robbing, becoming more and more lawless as one proceeds west, till the Golok and similar tribes are reached living round the upper Yellow River and thence southwards towards the Szechuan marches, who are entirely masterless and acknowledge the authority of neither China nor Tibet. As a result their territory is about the least known portion of Asia.

The Chinese call the Amdo Tibetans Hsifan, a wide term meaning Western Barbarians applied to all the non-Chinese tribesmen from Sungp'an to Hsining. Some

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

a carillon of nine bells, hanging over the shrine. Simultaneously one catches the monotonous tone of a hollow, wooden drum, shaped like a crab, the beating of which declares, in triple rhythm, that the ultimate issue of earth, matter, and even life itself, is VOID. 788

'Earth is void! All is void! I am void!' This is the message of the drum to every human heart in that city of unnumbered gods.

The most rigorous asceticism rules the lives of many Kanchow women. Not content with being under a vegetarian vow, as is usually understood, they so fear any subtle indulgence of the appetite, that even onions, garlic, vinegar and red pepper, the necessary condiments to flavour the insipid dough-string diet, are eschewed. During the spring months almost each day sees the recurrence of some festival, which draws the crowds alternately to each temple in the neighbourhood. Theatrical troops move from fair to fair, repeating their performances to the never-failing concourse of village people, whose bullock-carts are parked in a wide semicircle facing the stage, and in which the women sit the whole day long exposed to the heat of the sun. Most of the younger women and girls adorn themselves for the occasion with paint and powder, until the face is converted into an expressionless mask. Their hair is beautifully dressed and decorated with artificial flowers. Most of the small children are stamped on the forehead, nose, and chin with minute geometrical patterns, traced in red circles. 262 785 796 [536] 796 302

Just out of earshot of the stage, the food-vendors pitch their stalls, where cooked eatables of all descriptions are on sale. Pork fried and stewed in a thick gravy, is served up in small saucers and eaten with chopsticks, as also fried meat-dumplings, garnished with vinegar and red pepper. A large mould of 796 265

3:Cable & French M-5 (1926) 1927
AF13 Northwest China AF13

fruits, emblematic of fertility. To burn incense before this grotesque monster came the highest official of the city, in his green sedan-chair, while groups of workmen of the various trade guilds formed themselves into pageant scenes and walked round the town in procession. Needless to say, this was for us also a very busy day, with the result that later on, while itinerating in the country, we frequently were welcomed by people in their homes, who showed us books bought from us on that occasion.

On our return home, we found our landlord's family in a strange state of confusion, and learnt that, during their absence, while merry-making with their friends, a beautiful fur gown had been stolen from the eldest daughter's room. We soon realised that they were more disturbed by the incident than the actual value of the garment warranted, and the fact soon came to light that there was in existence another member of the family of whom we had hitherto never been aware, namely, the ne'er-do-well eldest son. From gambling and opium-smoking, he had gradually sunk so low as to become a member of a gang of thieves, and it was undoubtedly he who had walked into the empty house, opened his sister's cupboard and abstracted the valuable robe.

After the doors were closed for the night, all the senior members of the family clan were called in, and a solemn conclave was held. The father himself was a typical specimen of a gentleman of the ancient school. Tall and thin, with a straggling grey beard, he wore large goggles, and finger-nails two inches long. Daily he might be seen pacing up and down the path of his loved flower-garden, smoking a long pipe with a slender stem, regarding, doubtless, the theoretical care of his pretty plants as the fitting, final occupation of a con-

N.W. China AF13
Tu ren

563 (1260-1368) and still continues. The Tu ren of Wei yüan bu are a very
[779] peculiar little group. Many of them say they believe in only one
god. But, like the Chinese, they are also Buddhists. But besides
791 that they have shaman priests similar to the Bönbo, who are primari-
789 ly concerned with making the weather and exorcizing hail. On the
way from Hsining to Wei yüan bu one constantly comes across small
loam towers and numerous small heaps of stones which the hail
exorcisers have erected for the protection of the fields.

563 Most of the Tu ren men dress like Chinese, but some of them
[291] also wear, like the Tibetans, caftan-like wool skirts that reach
142 halfway to the ground and they wrap their legs up to the knees with
gray or blue bands like the poor people of North China. It is very
difficult, in fact, impossible, to distinguish a Tu ren from a
Chinese by the cast of his features or his build (Plate LIV). They
may be smaller on the average and have broader faces than the
Chinese. But just as among us Europeans one recognizes persons of
different nationalities only by certain external characteristics and
by their language, so it is with all the Mongoloid peoples at the
opposite end of Eurasia. There is no truly significant difference in
physical structure which would exclude misjudgment or confusion.

563 The men wore the Manchurian-Mongolian queue - which is
[302] taken for granted among faithful subjects of the emperor - and for
the rest they shaved just as much of their heads around this queue
[162] as the Chinese did. There are today still many thousands of them
(allegedly 20,000 families). In the Hsining prefecture alone the
number of their princes (tu se) equals more than 12, formerly it
[651] was 16 or 18. These princes receive gifts and land tax from their
subjects, administer justice and represent their subjects in dealings
with Chinese officials. They submitted as early as 1372 in the
fourth year of the reign of the first Ming emperor (Hung wu) and
[551] in return their old noble families were established. Beside their
Mongolian names they have Chinese surnames and three of their
tu se are called Li, two Ch'i, others Yi, Chen, Wang, Na Chao,
Chu, etc., and all of them have remained faithful since the Yüan
dynasty, just as though they were real Chinese. During the Mo-
hammedan rebellions they suffered exactly like the Chinese.

563 There are also Tu ren living on the old highway between Lan-
342 chow and Hsining fu, in the region of the confluence of the Da
tung ho and the Hsining Ho, where they are scattered among
Chinese and Mohammedans in individual villages. These are

563 down their back their hair is spread out on a little piece of wood
291 which terminates in a plate. The latter is decorated with colored beads and cowrie shells and sticks out horizontally (Plate LIII). It is 20-25 centimeters in diameter. In order to make themselves
[302] even more beautiful and colorful, the young peasant women paint a round red disk on their Mongolian cheeks which are tanned a deep brown from the strong mountain sun. Thus, the spectacle with which one is confronted at the fairs in Wei yüan ban is in point of color and gaiety not inferior to that of the temple festival at Gum bum.

527 The chief holiday of the Tu ren occurs annually during the second
563 Chinese month and falls on the days when the rivers which have been frozen during the cold season begin to thaw, but before the field work begins. It is at the same time the annual fête of Mother Earth. The Tu ren as well as many other inhabitants of the region gather together with their wives and children for eight to ten days in order to drink, sing and play. The gathering-place is a meadow
[346] south of the walls of the town, beside old Chinese graves. There
[669] is a large temple there in pure Chinese style with two courtyards, one behind the other, and beside it a second smaller Chinese temple has been erected for the manes of the Chinese who were killed during the last rebellion. In 1896 several hundred men fell into an ambush in front of Wei yüan bu and were killed to a man by the Dungan in hand-to-hand fighting. (It was almost always a hand-
[211] to-hand battle.) Now each man's name is written on a small wooden tablet and they are set up on a long table-like structure of loam on the back wall of the temple. A young man had entered the
[782] temple with me. He lighted two thin incense sticks in front of one of the narrow wooden tablets and kowtowed three times before it. He was honoring the names of a close relative. There were incense candles burning in front of many of the other little tablets.

The festival at Wei yüan bu itself strikes the visitor as very worldly. Very few people pay any attention to the offerings, the cakes of wheat flour, the /251/ loaves of bread (1), the eggs,

252 1. The Tu ren, like the Mohammedans of Lanchow and Hochow, bake a leavened bread in small, round copper pans. Into the bread dough they mix the ashes of some kind of grass which is found near Tsing yüan and as far up as Di dao and which is burned in the fall in a sort of charcoal kiln. Otherwise only steamed, unleavened bread is eaten throughout West China

N.W. China AF 13
Kalmyk

they lose one district after another in their part of Tibet, and that 631
their officials cheerfully return from the interior after a defeat, as
did the Dankar ting, for example, in 1905 when he came from the
Ngolok country, or that they allow the murder of a Ts'ai by the
Tibetans to go unavenged and unpunished. Thus, even the Mongol
banner leaders who are much less war-like than the Tibetans permit
themselves all kinds of tyrannies.

My Camp 51 beside the tent village of the Schang Mongols was 133
again in a beautiful spot (Plate LXXIV and LXXIII). There toward
the north the rocky crags become gradually lower and the mountains
descend to the sands of the Tsaidam border, so that one was able to
see a distance of about 100 kilometers to the north. In the south
there is a sharp ascent up to more than 4,000 meters and the peaks
there are snow-capped. But on the lower part of all the northwesterly,
northerly and northeasterly slopes, the mountains are covered with
small stands of mountain cedars, forming glades of old, gnarled
trunks. The fresh green pastures that extend down from the edge of 231
the woods were alive with countless white dots - sheep and goat
herds. There were black masses in between comprising the yak cattle,
and dappled masses consisting of horses and camels. Horses are in-
satiable; they graze from morning till night. Cattle are more quick-
ly satisfied. Ploughing up the earth with their horns, wildly snorting,
grunting, their bushy tails held high, the yaks disport themselves on
the pastures. It is a good thing that the Mongols and Tibetans have
the custom of letting only the hornless males go uncastrated and of
using them for breeding steers. But even these are not as wild as
ours. It is peculiar that hornless animals occur very frequently
among domestic yaks. When they do have horns these are not bent
in all kinds of ways like those of the European and Chinese colored
cattle, but are always regular and shaped like those of the wild yak.
In fact, the build of the tame yaks is exactly like that of the wild
ones, except that they are smaller and have a weaker bone structure. (1)

1. I never once saw a white spot on the wild yak. Their tail is also completely black.

The Mongol women here wear their hair like the Tibetans. They 563
part it in the middle and twist it with butter into countless tiny braids 302
which are joined and hang down the back. They also wear a separate
braid that starts at the crown of the head, and from which a piece of
red cloth ribbon a few centimeters wide extends down the back. This

N.W. China AFS
Kalmyk

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302 ribbon is decorated with white shells, deep-red corals, silver discs and pieces of amber sewn on it. Like the Tibetan women, they wear a caftan that opens on the side, and the men, too, dress like their neighbors, the Tibetans. The faces of the Mongols are rather different from those of the Tibetans. They are broad and their noses are also wide. My men thought they were much better looking than the Fan tse. I, however, did not agree with this. Even with my taste which was corrupted as a result of my Asiatic environment, I could not admire these faces that looked as though they had been flattened out with a roller.

[142]

778
563 July 6. The Mongols are very devout Buddhists. Near the very first yurts on Schang territory there stood mani rdyayu - they looked very gay like our May poles - consisting of four tall poles forming a large square around a taller /338/ center pole. There were garlands of cloth shreds, red, blue, green, yellow and white, completely covered with prayers, stretching from pole to pole (Plate LXXVIII). At the top of the center one cedar twigs swayed in the wind, and their resinous fragrance pleases the heavenly ones. Next to this there was an altar on which today, the day of the full moon, cedar- and thuja-leaves and tsamba were being burned. At noon the family lama blew his horn; a procession of men, women and maidens approached the altar, fell down before it, prayed, circled again and again around the mani rdyayu, clockwise, according to the rules of the yellow sect, "the way the moon rotates around the earth," and prostrated themselves countless times after each time around, hoping to obtain peace, release from demons, and for their herds, freedom from disease and death.

[175]
[789]

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792 For this exorcism my nearest neighbor in Camp 51, a well-to-do Mongol, (1) had invited the incarnation from Tangsker, a monastery

1. A man is here considered well-to-do if he has 8 to 10 horses, including mares and foals, 20-30 yak cattle and 400 sheep, whereas near Dankar a man is not considered well off unless he has 40 horses, 60-70 yak cattle and close to 1,000 sheep and goats.

of which I learned for the first time here, and which lies far off on the Hwang Ho, many travel-days farther than the oft-mentioned Rardscha gomba. The journey of the holy man from his lamasery to Tsaidam lasted many months, but he had been undertaking it for several years already, and he stayed two or three months each